

A 20
L·E T T E R

FROM
MERCVRIVS CIVICVS

TO
MERCURIUS RUSTICVS:

OR,
LONDONS CONFESSION
but not Repentance.

S H E W I N G,
That the beginning and the obstinate
pursuance of this accursed horrid Rebellion
is principally to be ascribed to that
Rebellious City.

— *En quo discordia Cives?*
Perduxit miseros. Virg. Egl. 2.

Printed, 1643.

LETTER

FROM
MEMORIALS CIVIL

TO
MEMORIALS

OF
LONDON'S

CONTRIBUTION
but not Repentance.

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- presence of this accused North Rebellion
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Printed by the
Printers of the City of London

Printed 1643.



A LETTER
FROM
MERCVRIVS CIVICVS
TO
MERCURIUS RUSTICVS.

Good Brother RUSTICVS,



Hough there have been some unkinde jars between my brother *Aulicus* and me, yet my earnest desire is to keep a good understanding between your self and me: I cannot but congratulate your happinesse that breathe in so free an ayre, wherein it is lawfull to heare and speak *truth*: O *Truth*, sacred *Truth*, whither art thou fled? if you at *Oxford* did not give her entertainment, I know not where she would find a place of aboad, for here at *London* we fortifie against her to keep her out: Nay with us in the City it is come to that passe, that *it is almost as dangerous to speak truth as Love the King*: you know how famous we have been here for publishing and printing Lyes, he that will not lye to advantage the great Cause in hand, is not amongst us thought fit to have acceffe either to the Pulpit or the Presse. And therefore when I was first set on work to communicate Intelligence to the Kingdom to indear my self to them that imployed me, I played my part reasonable well, I Lyed my share; but at last admonished by our brother *Aulicus*, and to confesse to you, touched a little in conscience, I began by degrees to take off my self from that unwarrantable course, and did here and there sprinkle a little truth, yet very

sparingly left I should be thought to be turned *Malignant* or *Cavaleer* : but as little as it was, it was distastfull : for hereupon Mr *Pim* and the Remainder of the *five Members*, assisted by Mr *Martyn*, illiterate *Serjeant Wild*, *Peard* (that hath lesse Law if it be possible then the Serjant) & some others that have sworn never to indure truth again, since they have thriven so well by Lies, moved at the Close Committee to have me silenced: yet to blind the world, as if their ayme were not at me alone, they involve others in the same doome, and for Intelligencers, by an Order they bung up all our mouths at once: yet knowing how much it concerned them that the old trade went on, though since they have permitted another to make use of my name, yet at first they gave authority to one man onely to lye for all the rest : him they call the *Parliament Scout*, not *Bulmore* the Scout that was slain at *Whetley* bridge neer you at *Oxford*, I meane not him, yet if you look into his weekly Pamphlets, you would sweare that he had no more braines in his head, then *Bulmore* had when they were shot out.

This man indeed tels you some truths, but such antiquated ones that they were stale newes above a Thousand yeares since, as that on the borders of *Scotland*, there dwelt a People whom they called *Picts*, that there was a Wall built between *England* and *Scotland*, and the like : while he keeps at this distance and comes no nearer, he never needs feare that the heeles of the times may chance dash out his teeth : he may write on I but if once he come to publish any Moderne truths, as that his Excellency durst come no nearer *Oxford* then *Thame*, that *Fairfax* is beaten in the North, and *Waller* and *Warwick* in the West, or the like, he were best looke to himselfe, he may read his fate in us : These new Reformers will never Brooke it.

Since therefore we are here enslaved either to Lies or Silence, that the world may not for ever be kept hoodwinkr, goe on (I pray) as you have begun to let her see the Miseries under which she dayly suffers. But me thinks it would be a work well worthy your endeavour, to let the Country see not only their miseries, but to point them out the fountain & source from whence they flow : This discovery hath beene within me as wine that hath no vent, ready to burst like new bottles, yet as full as I am, I dare not vent my thoughts concerning this here, but have chose rather to whisper them

them to you: for it is in vaine to dissemble it, your sad stories of the Ruine and devastation of the Countrey are ecchoed in our Streets, and though we beare it out in a Vaunting way, as if these things concerned not us, yet I assure you there are many soules that mourne in private, (for in publique we must be as mad as the rest, or else we suffer as *Malignants*) as knowing how justly we stand charged with all those Calamities, which the sword of Rebellion hath brought upon you: I never heare that of the *Prophet* read, *Woe to the bloody City, it is full of Lies and Robbery*, but I cannot choose but think of *London*.

It is too too manifest, nor can it be denied, but that all your Sufferings have been derived from us: when Common-Prayer was in use amongst us, I remember such a Query in one of the *Prophets*, *Is there any evill in the City and the Lord hath not done it?* But you may aske, Is there any evill in the Countrey, and the City hath not done it? You have made us Rich and Populous, and we in foule Ingratitude have prodigally powerd out both our Wealth and Strength to make you and our selves miserable.

Well might the Incendiaries of this present Rebellion (so I dare call it to you, though I dare not speak so plain here) bring violent affections, eager endeavours to set this flourishing *Church*, and *Kingdom* in Combustion, but alas! all this had signified little or nothing, had they not gained our consent, and we resigned up our persons and estates to their disposall to be made the base instruments to compass their most Frayterous designs: Could *Say* or *Pim*, and their beggerly Confederates have found money to Levie an Army against their Leige Lord, that had not money to pay their own Debts, had not we furnished them? If we shall without partiality consider the severall helps which this City hath Contributed to this Rebellion, we must confesse that both the beginning and continuance of this unnaturall Warre may be ascribed to us: So that in all *England* there is but one *Rebell*, & that is *London*. To reflect a little & look back on those times when this Rebellion was but an *Embrio*, or else did begin to creepe into the world, (for we may not think that this Monster was a Brat of a suddain birth) though it were conceived (some *Say*) neere *Banbury*, & shaped in *Grays-Inne-Lane*, where the undertakers for the Isle of *Providence* did meet and plot it, yet you know it was put out to Nurse to *London*.

For *first* you may well remember when the *Puritans* here did as much abominate the *Military-yard* or *Artillery-Garden*, as *Paris-Garden* it self: they would not mingle with the Profane: but at last when it was instill'd into them, that the blessed Reformation intended could not be effected but by the sword, these places were instantly filled with few or none but men of that Faction: We were wont you know to make very merry at their Training, some of them in two yeares practice could not be brought to discharge a Musket without winking; We did little imagine then, that they were ever likely to grow formidable to the State, or advance to that strength, as to be able to give the King Battle, but after a while they began to affect, yea and Compaſſe the chief Offices of command, so that when any prime Commanders dyed, new men were elected, wholly devoted to that Faction; and it became a Generall Emulation amongst them who should buy the most, and the best Armes.

Secondly, that they might fill all places of authority with such as should advance the designe, all care is taken to fill the Bench of Aldermen, and the Common-Council, with men disaffected to the Government, both Ecclesiasticall, and Civill. To this purpose if *London* did not afford men bad enough, they would call them from other Corporations, as *Alderman Atkins* from *Norwich* and the like: but if he had seen *Amsterdam* or had been an Adventurer to *New England*, or been the host of the *Silenced Ministers*, he was a jewell: Nay some will tell you, & I am much of their opinion, that the Faction have had so great a Care of this, that they have chosen some men to places of the best esteem in the City, whose estates were not able to defray the Charges, but have been supported by a Common Purse, and if you have not forgotten it, there was a Motion you know made, That *Honest men*, so they call themselves, might beare the *Magistracy*, and the City beare the *Expence*: some men thought that this proposall had especiall Relation to those two beggerly Captaines, *Ven* and *Manuring*, who having nothing either within or without them to render them fit for government, yet in this Rebellious City, were thought *most fit*, because *most averse* from what was by Law established.

Thirdly, because all this could not compasse the end they aimed at, unless the *Clergy* did conspire with them and contribute their

their help, and because they found very few of the *Settled Clergy* here in the City, (except Dr. *Gough*, M. *Lackeson*, *Votier*, *Simons*, *Walker*, and a very few more) Compliant with their indeavours, they laboured by all means possible, to introduce that *Gibbs* or *extrefcency*, of the Clergy called *Lecturers* over their *Parochiall Ministers* heads, whose maintenance being dependant (yet a portion by double Leases and other Sacralegious devices stolne from their owne Parsons, so that the barren Mountaines of *Wales* afford not so many poore, and as Sir *Benjamin Rudyer* was wont to call them, scandalous Livings together, as are to be found within the walls of *London*) must preach such Doctrine as may foment disloyalty, and intill such Principles into their Auditors as may first dispose them to, and after engage them in Rebellion, when things were ripe, or else they shall want bread to put into their heads: The Truth is, Brother *Russins*, these Military preparations had effected Little, had not the fire been given from the Pulpit.

And because they saw how Successfull this Course was, and what strange effects it wrought in our City, a *Fourth* design was, to place some of their Emisaries in all *Corporations* (those Nurseries of Schisme and Rebellion) and in the most eminent parts of the Kingdom; for this purpose a most specious and pious pretence is held out to the world, the buying in of *Impropriations: Ecclesiess* are appointed, men of publique Callings, as *Clergy-men*, *Lawyers*, and *Citizens*, whose employments must needs render them knowne to many, and men of noted Zeale in the Opinion of the World; (such as it was) thereby to gaine the reputation of Religion to the undertaking: the *Lecturers* (and others too) deceived by the outside of this Project, stirre up the Rich and well affected to Contribute Liberally to this so religious an Act, of redeeming the Lords portion out of Lay-hands, and amongst the last Counsells given to the dying (and then commonly they make deepest impression) This was never forgotten: by this meanes great Summes were advanced, and the World stood at gaze to see the great returne which would be made to the Church of that which Sacraledge had made a *Lay-Fee*: after any were redeemed how long the revenues were held in the Ecclesiess hands, what pittances were allowed to the Incumbents, how they robb'd Pe-

ter to pay *Pant*, and established a Lecture perhaps in *Cornwall*, with the Tith of a Parsonage in *Torkeſhire*, or the like, appertains not to my preſent purpoſe.

The thing that I ſhall obſerve unto you is, the great care and art uſed in fitting men for their ſervice, and then diſpoſing and ſecuring them in their Employment, from any Moleſtation of Eccleſiaſtical Censures. To this end, *Fiſt*, they account it neceſſary to plant two *Seminaries*, the *fiſt* an *Iniſiary Seminary*, to this purpoſe they project the buying of a Headſhip in one of the *Vni-verſities* for ſome eminent man of their own party, under whoſe Influence their *Novices* might be trained up in their *Myſteries*: though ſome houſes in both Vni-verſities were notorious enough in this kind before, and might have ſaved them this Labour, as *Magdalene Hall* and *New-Inne* in *Oxford*, and *Emanuel Colledge* and *Katherine Hall* in *Cambridge*.

The *ſecond* was a *Practique Seminary*, and that was at *St. Antholines* here in *London*, and did in *Spiritualibus* answer to the *Artillery Garden*, being a place to traine up their young *Emiſſaries*, where they might take an Eſſay of their affections and abilities, and by the bewitchments of *gaine* and *popular applauſe* deeply ingage them in their Faction: and from this *Seminary* were moſt of their new bought *Impropriations* fill'd. And as they had their Salary from, ſo they were ſubordinate to a *Clasſis* or *Clero-laicall Conſiſtory*, who had power to tranſplant their moſt hopeful *Imps* either into their purchaſed *Impropriations*, or elſe into a Lecture in ſome of the moſt populous places of the Kingdom, maintained by a borrowed portion from an *Impropriation* elſewhere: yet this *Conſiſtory*, did not in their choice, ſtrictly tye themſelves to the plants of their own Nurceries, but if any man had been a *Pſeudo-martyr* for their cauſe, or had been ſentenced by the high Commiſſion for Non-Conformity, or by ſome Notorious undertaking had evidenced and declared himſelfe, and irrevocably without apparant note of Infamy and Levity (if he retracted) ingaged himſelfe to their party: or had Letters Teſtimoniall from *Patriarch White* of *Dorcheſter*, *Mr. Cotton* of *Boston*, or the like, (for *Calamy* and *Marſhall* were not, as it is ſaid of *Dathan* and *Abiram*, as yet famous in the Congregation.) This man was a choice plant and fit for their Soyle.

Secondly,

Secondly, being planted abroad, their second care was, that whatsoever they Preached, though never so derogatory to the Government either *Ecclesiasticall* or *Civill*, yet they might be free from molestation, and Preach on, without danger of loosing their maintenance by Ecclesiasticall censure. To this purpose they attempted the buying a Commissaries place there, where they intended to make any speciall plantation: who being after their own hearts, might winke at their irregularities, and though the Church-wardens should by chance be so honest to regard their oathes, and present them, yet by the purchased or bribed Commissary they may secure them from the danger of the Court.

Lastly, for feare least any of their Creatures should fall from them, and desert the Cause as some had done, when they had got what they looked for; wisely they provide, that their maintenance shall be dependent, on the pleasure of their good Masters the Feoffees, alterable by addition, or subtraction, according to their merits, or demerits, and their persons subject to be Casheered if they Preach not to the advancement of their holy cause, and according to the directions sent unto them from the Conclave of their Elders at *London*: That so as much as humane Policy could invent, they might (to use Mr Foxlies own words speaking in this argument) *Establish the Gospel by a perpetuall decree.*

When all things were now ready, their *Emissaries* having prepared the hearts of the people to Rebellion, first alienating them, by frequent slandering the footsteps of Gods annoynted, decrying the Government both of Church and State, fomenting the causelesse discontents, and aggravating the necessities of State, with the odious names of *Tyranny*, *Arbitrary power*, *Violation of the Subjects Liberty*, and *Property*, and likewise possessed the credulous multitude, that the conformeable *Clergy* had made a Revolt from the *Protestant Religion*, and had an earnest intention to introduce *Popery*: at last was fulfilled that Prophecy of Iudicious M. Hooker, toward the end of the Preface to that incomparable work of Ecclesiasticall Policy, that after the Puritans have first resolved that attempts for Discipline are lawfull, it will follow in the next place to be disputed, what may be attempted against Superiors who will not have the Scepter of that discipline to

rule over them? Which Prophecy we see exactly fulfilled in our dayes, for the Puritans having first rebelled by a Proxy, they then thought it seasonable to take an essay what an entertainment the doctrine for taking up Armes against the King would find amongst their Disciples.

To this purpose Doctor *Downing*, a man fitted for any base employment, and one that (what ever he counterfeited) ever looked awry on the Church, in which (being settled and in peace) he could never hope to advance farther then *Vicar of Hackney*, was to feele the Pulse of the City: while therefore discontents runne high in the North, the Scots having in a hostile manner entered the Kingdome, the People every where, especially in London, stirr'd up by some agents to Petition the King for this Parliament, D. *Downing* Preaching to the Brotherhood of the *Artillery Garden* positively affirmed, *that for defence of Religion and Reformation of the Church, it was lawfull to take up armes against the King.*

He having thus Kindled the fire in the City, for feare of being questioned (for as yet it was not lawfull to Preach Treason) retired privately to the Earle of *Warwicks* house in *Essex*, the common Randevouz of all Schismaticall Preachers, this Sermon in every place administring matter of discourse, People censured it, as they stood affected, which gave occasion to the Ringleaders of this faction to enter upon a serious examination, and study of this case of Conscience: and it seems, consulting the Jesuites on the one side, and the Rigid Puritans on the other, or indeed, because without admitting this doctrine, all their former endeavours would vanish into smoak, they stood doubtfull no longer, but closed with these two contrary Factions, yet shaking hands in this poynt of Rebellion, and subscribed to D. *Downings* doctrine, as an Evangelicall truth.

And that in this I may not be thought to speak as if I were a Parliament intelligencer still, for the truth of this, I appeale to M. *Stephen Marshall* himselfe, who being pressed by M. *Simons*, that heretofore he was of another opinion, ingenuously confessed it, but withall affirmed, that on D. *Downings* Sermon, having a hint given them, the Brethren did enter upon an examination of the Doctrine, and upon examination found it true: Though the truth

truth is, they whispered this doctrine long before in their Conventicles, but never durst proclaim it in their Pulpits, before they saw an army in the bowells of the Kingdom to make it good by the sword, and a Faction in a Parliament coming on, that would Authorize Rebellion under this pretence, by their Votes and Ordinances.

After it was once owned as a Truth, and a Truth, first scann'd, and then avowed by *Marshall, Calamy, Downing*, and *Colonell Cornelius Burges*, and the rest of their Elders, *That for the cause of Religion it was lawfull for the Subject to take up Armes against his Lawfull Sovereigne*, good God! how violently did the People of *London* rush into Rebellion? how plyable did the Faction in Parliament find them, to raise Tumults? make outcries for justice? call for innocent blood? subscribe and preferre Petitions against the holy Lyturgy? and the Hierarchie, Root and branch, if *Doctor Burges* did but hold up his finger to his *Mermidons*? or *Captain Ven* send his summons by his Wife, to assemble the *Zelots of the City*?

But because all other attempts had been to little purpose, while the power of the sword remained in His hands, into which *God* had put it, the Heads of this Rebellion consider, that it was more seazable by secret practises, to render the King unable to withstand them, then for them openly to oppose the King; therefore their main indeavour is to wrest the power of the *Militia* out of the Kings hands by degrees, and to put it *there, where* they might place the greatest confidence.

But this was a work not easily effected, great Changes could not be ushered in but by great preparations to make way for them; hereupon the Faction in Parliament make it their first work to make this City wholly *theirs*, that one soule as it were might animate both *representive bodies*, That of the *Kingdome*, and this of the *City*: knowing that it was in vaine for the Faction in Parliament to contrive unlesse the Faction in the Common-Councell in *London* would execute: for though there were some flourishes made from *Buckingham-shire* in the behalfe of *M. Hampden*, and from *Leicester-shire* in the behalfe of *Sir Arther Haslerigge*; and the like, yet the standing Guard, and power of the Faction in Parliament, on which they relied, to affront the King; and save them-

selves from the justice of the Laws; was that fixed here in London.

And because where fear doth possesse the multitude, it makes them work not like agents, but like instruments, and moulds them to a Temper, fit to receive impressions, from those, in whose wisdoms or Loves they repose themselves, making them pliable to all directions and Counsells, which shall be given by them, whom they esteeme Patriots of the Common-wealth, and Assertors of the Liberties, and safety of the People, all possible art was used to possesse the Kingdome, but especially the City with strange Jealousies and Feares, and therefore besides the often inculcating the fained intention of introducing Popery, great preparations in France, and Denmarke to invade the Kingdome, to enable the King to governe Arbitrarily, to the subversion of the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, together with the Liberty and Property of the Subject: (Theames that did continually possesse both the Pulpis and the Presse, which how true, though most impudently affirmed, the World now sees:) each day did produce a discovery of some new Treason, and to indeare the City the more it must be so contrived, That in these monstrous fictions you shall continually find the Parliament and City fained to be involved in the same danger.

To possesse the Kingdom how mortally the Parliament and City (the two virall parts of the Kingdome as Pym calls them) were threatned; in the time of the Recess they take opportunity of the Petition delivered by the Troopers from the North, and by an order from the Committee, they appoynt strong watches to be kept in all high-ways, Villages, and Townes within twenty miles of London, that Travellers into all parts of the Kingdome, passing through these Guards, might report when they came home, in how much danger the Parliament and City were for their sakes.

And that the Cregulous People might not think but that this was done on good grounds, a Letter is written from the Parliament Commissioners in Scotland, M. Hampden, M. Fiennes and the rest to M. Pym and the close Committee here, to inform them of a strange conspiracy discovered in Edenburgh, to seize on the persons of the Marquesse Hamilton and the Earles of Argile, and

and *Lamerick*: the Committee wisely considering that it was no strange thing for Treason to make a step out of *Scotland* into *England*, instantly provided against it, (at least so they would be thought) by publishing an Order commanding the Iustices of Peace of *Middlesex, Surrey, and Southwarke*, to secure the City and the places adjoyning from all danger by strong guards, well armed, and give this reason for their Order, *Because the Mischievous designs and conspiracies lately discovered in Scotland against some Principall and Great men there, by some of the Popish Faction, gives just occasion to suspect, that they may maintain correspondence here and practise the like mischief.*

— Presently upon the neck of this *M. Pim's* life (to the great detriment of the Kingdom and Nation) is indangered by a contagious plaister of Plague sore, wrapt up in a letter and directed to him: but God be thanked, the infection did not take, though throwing away the plaister only, he put the letter in his Pocket: he being reserved for another manner of death (we hope) then to dye privately in his bed, with a few spectators to bear witness of his end.

Then comes a Tailor out of a ditch in *Finsbury* fields, having miraculously escaped, being runne *nine times* besides the body, (for like a wife Tailor, wherefoever he made ilotholes, he would be sure to make none in his own skinne, though to gain credit to the relation:) and he tells a strange discovery of a Treason, which he overheard two men talking of, a Conspiracy against the life of the Lord *Say*, and some of the chief Members of both Houses: A thing so improbable, indeed so Ridiculous, that had they not thought that the world stood prepared to receive any thing for truth which came from them, 'twas a wonder how they durst own it. And now I have named a Taylor it puts me in mind of *Perkins* my Lord *Say's* Taylor, who at a Common-Councell produced a copy of a Letter from an I know not what Irish Lord in *Paris*, to such an other Irish Lord in *London*, intimating some strange designe against the City, which took as passionately with the People, as if it had been certified from *M. Strickeland* his worship himselfe, *Embassador* for the two Houses unto the States-Generall of the united Provinces. But the most monstrous of all the rest, and that which if the people had not been accursed

to believe Lies, was the invisible Army quartered under ground at *Ragland Castle*, discovered by *John Davis*, servant to *Mistress Lewis* an Inne-keeper at *Rosse*, to Alderman *Altons* Coachman: except the blowing up the Thames with Gunpowder to drowne the City, one of the most dangerous plots that ever affrighted *London*.

And as by their own fictions they endeavoured to possess the People with Jealousies, so whatsoever the King did never wanted a sinister interpretation, glossed to the multitude, to traduce His actions, as if in them there were ever some evil intended to the City and Parliament. When the King removed *Belfore* from the Lieutenantancy of the Tower, and placed *Sir Thomas Lunsford* in that charge, the Citizens and their Wives could not sleep quietly in their bedds, for feare of having their houses beaten down about their eares. To satisfy their Clamours, though nothing were objected against him, the King reassumes the Trust, and presently deposites it with *Sir John Byron*: the Faction were as ill satisfied in him, yet it was not easy what to object against him: nay it was a Query that did not a little trouble them in what to quarrell him: at last Lieutenant *Hooker* the *Aquavite* man, and *Nicholson* the *Chandler*, complaine in the Common-Councell, that since *Sir John Byron* came to be Lieutenant of the Tower, the Mint (to the great prejudice and dishonour of the Kingdome) stood still. Those that knew what trade these men drove, by the poor retaile of Broomes, Candles, and Mustard, their chief merchandize, to improve brasse farthings into Groats and Sixpences, accounted the Objection as inconsiderable as the Authors that alleadged it, yet as meane and false as it was, it served some mens turnes to slander the King to His People, and raise a Clamour. The King out of the abundant goodnesse of His Nature, hoping to winne them by some condescendments, (which now the world sees is impossible: Puritans being of another manner of Temper then to be overcome with kindnesse) removes *Sir John Byron*, and confers this great trust on *Sir John Coniers*, a man of whom the Faction it seems conceived better hopes, and indeed hitherto if you consider his exaction upon the Kings friends in his custody, or retaining the name of Lieutenant, but resigning the power contrary to his expresse oath, and that on his own Petition

to

to the Train bands of the City, he hath not given them any occasion to repent them of their acquiescence in him.

It were endlesse, *Brother Rusticus*, to relate all the meanes used to heighten the fears of this miserable City, and by consequence of the Kingdome : especially after the Faction in Parliament, had shewen them the way by publishing that great Buggbeare to affright the People, the *Remonstrance of the state of the Kingdome*.

At last to make experiment what good effect all these arts had produced the maine Engineers resolve on Twelſe night to see what partee they had in the City, and what assistance they might expect (if occasion served) by giving a false Allarme. To this purpose in the night a Rumour is divulged and suddenly dispersed through the City, That the King and *Cavaleers* with fiftene hundred horse were coming to surprize the City : you would wonder to consider how this report prevailed, inſomuch that in an instant *London* was in Armes, no lesse then 50000 or 60000 men ready provided to encounter they knew not what : the Women (who as *M. Peters* did instruct the in the Pulpit, have huggd their Husbands into this Rebellion) provide hot water (besides what they sprinkled for feare) to throw on the *Cavaleeres* : joynt-stooles, foormes, and empty tubbes are throwne into the Streets to intercept the Horse. Had you been at the Lord Majors that night, as I was, you might upon the Aldermens coming to him, to consult against the common danger, easily perceive which of the Aldermen were privy to this designe, and who were not thought fit to be intrusted with so great a Myſterie: some of them (and when time serves I can tell you their names) came so neat as if they had spent the whole day to be trimme at midnight, their beards put into a feasting posture, not a haire awry, a cleare demonstration that they had not consulted their pillows that night: Their Ruffes set as compleatly as if they had beene to dine with the Masters of their Companies, or were prepared to beare a part in my Lord Majors ſhew : but the rest that slept in the simplicity of their hearts, and went to bed, so farre from misconceiving their gracious Sovereigne to have any evill intention against the City, that they thought themselves safe under his Protection, these came in a farre different garbe, one came in his nightcap & forgot

forgot his Hat, another had his Hat, but did not remember to take his Ruffe, one trots along in his slippers, another for haste not staying to garter his stockings, had lost them had not his shoes been on: so that it was easy to distinguish who were *Confiding Aldermen*, as they call them, and who *Malignants*.

And as by degrees they wrought the people to this height of Jealousie, so by degrees too, proportionable to their Jealousies did they disarm the King, and Arme themselves. At first they did only wrest the Sword out of the Kings Hand, but as their party grew stronger, they turned the point upon him. When their Feares were but young, the Faction of the City desired no more, but a strong guard of the Train-Bands, and this they called *The Safety of the City*, when their Feares grew Stronger, then in a Common-Councell they move for *The Posture of defence*, which was the *Edge* of which afterwards was hatched that *Cockatrice* of the *Militia*.

But because it was impossible to disarm the King, as long as the Lord Major stood firme in his Loyalty, and invetted in his power; their maine work therefore was, first, to pack a Common-Councell of men of their own Faction, and then by advancing the power of their Common-Councell (by the assistance of the *House of Commons*) above the Lord Majors, to draw the Voting of all Queries, and the Resolution of all doubts, or matters under debate, unto the decision of a *Major part*; and if any Obstacle lay in their way to these ends, which was not in their power to remove, presently at a dead lift, *Penington* or *Ven* or *Vassels* bring an order from the *House of Commons*, which never failed to determine all things, for their own Creatures. And because the Practices of these men deserve not to be buried in Silence, I shall give you a short account, how the power of the *Militia* of the City, came to be taken out of the Lord Major, and *Courts of Aldermens* hands, and seated in a *Major part* of the *Commons*; In which you shall see how a Faction in the City conspired with a Faction in the *Parliament*, and this Faction in the *Parliament* with that in the City, untill between both, the King was enforced, for fear of their tumults, and Insolencies, to withdraw himself into the Country.

The time of Election of Common-Councell men coming
on

on, at *S. Thomas* day 1641. when these feares and Jealoufies had distracted the City, it was no difficult matter, for this active faction, to instill into their fellow Citizens how much it Concerned them to make choyce of *Godly men* (so they miscall themselves) and such as would oppose the *Papish Party*, under which notion, they comprehend all such as stand well affected to the Government established, whether *Ecclesiasticall*, or *Civill*. They accuse the Old Common-Councell-men, as men not Zealous for Religion, Ready to comply with the Court for loanes of Monies, and which was worse, many had not only set their hands to, but were active in promoting the intended Petition, for *Episcopacy*, and the Booke of *Common Prayer*. These Objections (which duly considered had been so many convincing arguments for them) so prevailed, with these silly men, (who thought all to be in danger, vlesse the government were put into new hands) that in most Wards, the old Common-Councell men were turned out, and new chosen in, wholly devoted to the *Puritan faction*; especially in those Wards, where their *Aldermen* inclined that way: amongst these, the most remarkable were *Askins*, *Wollastone*, *George Garrat* the Draper, *Wardner*, and *Towse*. Now outgoe all the grave, discreet, well-affected Citizens, as *Sr George Benyon*, *M. Drake*, *M. Roger Clarke*, *M. Roger Gardner*, *Deputy Withers*, *M. Cartwright*, and others, and in their stead are chosen *Fowke* the Traytor, *Ryley* the squeeking Bodyes-maker, *Perkins* the Taylor, *Norminton* the Cutler, young beardless *Conlson* the Dyer, *Gill* the Wine-Cooper, and *Inpe* the Laten-man in *Crooked-Lane*, Beadle of the Ward, in the place of *Deputy Withers*. So that a man would sweare, they meant to fulfill, what a wise Lord Keeper once spake to a Recorder of London, dying with him, upon occasion of a *Wood Cock-Pye* brought to the Table, with the heads looking out of the Lid, *Mr Recorder, you are welcome to a Common-Councell.*

These new men, though chosen on *S. Thomas* day, are never returned by the constant custome of the City, before the *Munday* after *Twelve-day*: nor have power to sit in the Common-Councell, or concur in doing any act, before the Indentures of their Election be returned from the Wardmote Inquest to the Town-Clark, and a Warrant is sued forth from the Lord Major,

to the Serjeant of the Chamber to Summon them. Yet in the Year 1641. the small space of time betwene *S. Thomas* day, and the day of this Returne, was a very active time: and that which laid the Ground-work, of that Revolt of this City, from their Loyalty to Rebellion, which presently followed. Therefore Impatient to stay the time of their ordinary calling, and knowing the Necessity of their presence for the advancement of the work in hand, when the King, gave order to the *Lord Major*, for calling that Common-Councell held *December* 31. 1641. when the *Lord Newburge* was sent from the King, to give the City notice of the late Tumults at *Westminster*, and *White-Hall*, and to recommend unto them the Care of preventing the like disorders, for the time to come. To this Common-Councell, comes *Fowke*, and with him, all the Tribe of this new choice, and mingle with the old; which being an Intrusion without president, was earnestly opposed by *them*; that loved the ancient order, and honour of the City; and foresaw the Inundation breaking in upon them, yet out of Respect to the Kings Message, and that Lord that brought it, the controversie for the present was hushed up, and generally, they applied themselves to give dispatch to the Answer, which they were to returne to the King, which was accordingly done; and the Answer presently after published in Print.

So, on the 5. of *January*, being the day after the King went to the House of Commons to demand the *Five Members*, a Common Councell being called by the Kings direction to the *Lord Major*, to which himselfe in Person came, to impart unto them, the reasons that induced him to goe to the House the day before, and to admonish them, not to harbour or protect these men in the City. Thither came *Fowke* and his new Elected, but not admitted Brethren. *Fowke* having prepared a Saucy, Insolent Speech, to make unto the King, concerning *Fearce*, & *Leatonesses*, touching the *Members* accused, The *Priviledges of Parliament*, and that they might not be tried but in a *Parliamentary* way. The King heard him with admired patience, and whereas so disloyall expressions, justly deserved his Royal Indignation, to have sent him to *Newgate*, or *Bride-well* (especially interposing in that Representative body of which, as yet, he was no member.) The King only

only returned this short, gracious Answer, bidding him and the rest, to assure themselves, That they should have a lust Tryall, according to the Lawes of the Land; adding, that they were dangerous men, and that neither he, nor they, could be in safety, as long as these men were permitted to go on in their way.

It was observed by some, very wise men, there present, that the King at His comming to the Common-Councell, was received with Joy, and acclamations; not much Inferiour to those, at His entrance into the City, on His returne from Scotland. But after the reason of His comming was knowne, and the Puritan Party had instilld into the peoples heads, that the great Patriots of the Kingdome were in danger, to be called to a Legall Trial, for Treason, at His returne, there was a new face on the Multitude, and instead of *God save the King*, there was nothing echoed in His eares, but *Priviledges of Parliament*, *Priviledges of Parliament*! *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* was never roared louder. The King dined that day at Sheriffe Garrets, and the Faction of the Sectaries, Brownists, and Anabaptists having time to assemble, after dinner, the house was beset, and the streets leading unto it thronged with people, Thousands of them flocking from all parts of the City: and the clamour still was *Priviledges of Parliament*; which cry first taken up that day, and that, with so good successe, never failed to be Objected to the King, and inculcated to the People, even unto this day, in all their appeals unto them.

This Tumult sweld to that height, that the King in His returne was in great danger, the people in a most undutifull manner, pressing upon, looking into, and laying hold on His Coach: nay, in defiance of His sacred Person, and Authority, that seditious Pamphlet of *Walkers, To your Tents O Israel*, was throwne either into, or very near His Coach: Insomuch, that those few friends, which the King had in the City, were heartily glad when they heard that the King was safely arrived at *White-Hall*: for I assure you, His fast friends here in the City, as the never enough honoured Sir Richard Gurney, and Sir Thomas Gardner the Recorder were in great danger, being pursued with outcries, as *Remember the Protestation*, others calling them *halfe Protesters*;

may the Lord Major had his Chaine torne from his neck by a Zealous sifter.

This very day, the two Houses (the leaders in both) thinking themselves unsafe at *Westminster*, affrighted with their own guilt, resolve to take Sanctuary in *London*, knowing, that what ever they had done, or ever should doe, though never so derogatory to the King, never so contrary to Law, yet the Puritan Faction in the City would afford them not only protection, but power and assistance. Both Houses therefore adjourn, untill the *Tuesday* following, and cast themselves into a Committee, to meet at *Guild-Hall*, or *Grocers-Hall*.

To the Committee at *Grocers hall*, come the *Five Members* in great Triumph, guarded, and attended by the Train-bands, and a strong guard set to secure the place of their sitting. Now, if ever, was the fatal conspiracy of *Time* and *Place*, for Coyning new unheard of Priviledges of *Parliament*, not only to the securing the persons of Traitors, but Justifying Treason it selfe: For here was (before this day) the unheard of Priviledge of *Parliament* declared, That no Member of *Parliament* ought to be arrested by any warrant whatsoever, without consent of that House, whereof he is a Member, and by the same Ordinance it was declared, That they that shall arrest those Members are enemies to the State: with free liberty granted for all persons to harbor or converse with them: In all which, it is evident, that the power and strength of *London* were made the first obstruction of the free course of Justice, and the City made the *Asylum*, and Sanctuary of those, whom the King had justly declared Traytors.

And now, having undoubted experience of the affection of the City, all eyes being turned from *White Hall*, to *Grocers Hall*, where the *Darlings* of the People were pompously feasted, and fawningly courted: on Saturday the eight of Jan. 1641. the Committee consult, how the accused Members might come to *Westminster*; the *Tuesday* following, and without any long debate, it was resolved upon the question, That the Sheriffes of *London* should, and might raise a guard of the Train-bands, for the defence of the King and *Parliament*; and that they might warrantably march out of their Liberties, and that you may see that the Scene was right layd, there were some ready at that instant to make a tender

tender of the assistance of the *Seamen* and *Mariners*, whose power should guard them by Water, as the *Train-bands* by Land. Next day being Sunday, every Pulpit that was at their devotion, sounded nothing but the praise of *Kimbolson* and the *Five Members*: inciting the People to stand up in the defence of these *worthies*: else if they permitted the King to take away these to day, he might goe on to seize on as many more to Morrow, untill he had left the Parliament naked of all good *Patriots*, and *Zealous assertors* of Religion, the Lawes, and Liberties of the Kingdom.

On Munday the tenth of Jan. 1641. the King hearing of these great Preparations, an Army by Land, and a Navy by Sea, which was to cast ancre against *White-Hall*, suddenly, (and certainly guided by an immediat providence, which in a peculiar manner watched over Kings) resolved with his ever glorious *Queen*, the *Prince*, and the *Duke of York*, to withdraw to *Hampton Court*, which accordingly He did: not leaving (though well he might) His *curse* behind him upon *London*, as *Henry* the third of *France* did on *Paris*, fowly provoked in the like manner; who flying from the *City* and the *Holy League* the Parallell of this Treason here, at *Chalios*, turning towards it, said, *I give thee my Curse, disloyall, and ingratefull City, a City which I have alwayes honoured with my continuall abode, a City which I have enriched more then any of my Predecessors, I shall never enter within the compasse of thy walls, but by the mine of a great and Memorable breach.*

The
French
Hist. p.
805.

The King, now, no better then fled from *London*, and the apparent dangers there, the whole strength of the City remained at the disposall of a Faction of Puritans in the *Parliament*, and a Faction of Puritans in the *City*. That very *Munday*, on which the King for his safety from these Tumults, withdrew himselfe (and 'tis a wonder that any man should be so frontlesse to deny, that for that reason, and that reason only, he withdrew himselfe) was the returne made of the Indentures of the Election of the Common councill-men, and if any election was questioned, as some were, and that most justly, 'twas truly observed, that the decision, never failed to goe on their side, who were last elected, whether it were right, or wrong: for whereas formerly all controversies of this Nature were submitted to the determination of the *Lord Major* and *Court of Aldermen* only, now by the impe-

tuoufneffe, and Clamour of *Fowke*, and his adherents, it must be referred to a *Committee* of the Common-councell, the same *Committee* which was for *the Safety*, the first step which the *Parliaments* made towards the *Militia*.

Having thus put the King to flight, and by most indirect unwarrantable Practices, turned most of the discreet able men of the City, out of the Common-councell, they beginne to put the City into a *True Posture of Rebellion*, which they called, the *Posture of Defence*, and was the *Second* step to the *Militia*: and for the Committee of this *Posture of Defence*, they nominate *Six Aldermen*, and *twelve Commoners*, most of them being of this last election. And to have a leader for the intended Rebellion, upon *Ven's* Recommendation; *Skippon* for his Councell, and advice, is added as an *Appendix* to the *Committee*. And though a great debt lay on the Chamber of London, which was often Complained off, but never paid, yet *Serjeant Major Generall Skippon*, (so many are the Syllables of his new honours) is ordered by act of Common-councell, to have 300^l a yeare, out of the Treasury for Orphans, during his life, if he should so long continue in the City service.

A strong Party being thus made, they beginne to make all manner of Warlike Preparations, and provide Ammunition of all sorts: they increase the number of the Train-bands, from sixe, to eight Thousand, and appoint over them sixe *Aldermen*, to be *Colonells*, each *Colonell* to have his Captains, Officers, Colours, and Regiment, to be assigned him by the Committee for the *Posture of Defence*: and yet as if all this had been to no purpose, uselesse they can make the *Lord Major* (a shrewd rubbe in the way) a meer Cipher, and reduce their *Governour*, to so mean a condition, as to be only their *instrument*, they intrench upon his power, and invade it many ways.

First, therefore, whereas the power of summoning Common-councells, resided only in the *Lord Major*, who, with the advice of some Aldermen, was to judge of the Reasons inducing him, to assemble this Representative body, now by Orders from the House of *Commons*, at the instance of *Pennington, Ven, & Vassells*, the *Lord Major* is not left to his own judgement, when to call or
not

not to call a Common-councell, but must doe it, as oft as the Men of this Faction shall command him : which usurp'd power, both *Ven* and *Fowkes* have used with that insolency, that when they have required Sir *Richard Gurney* to call a Common-councell, and he hath demanded a reason, they have vouchsafed him no other answer, then this fancy one, *that when he came thither he should know*.

Secondly, as the power of calling Common-councils was trusted by their *Charter & Long prescription*, with the *Lord Mayor*, so the power of dissolving them, was put into the same hands, he might rise in the midst of a debate, and dismiss the assembly, and yet was not bound to give them an account, why he did so ; but now, partly by violence, and partly by pretended orders from the House of *Commons*, he is fastned to his seat, there he must sit, untill *Ven* and *Fowkes* and the rest have no farther use of him.

Thirdly, heretofore, when a Common-councell was called, nothing could be put to the Question, or proposed as the Subject of their deliberation, but what the *Lord Mayor* by the *Recorder* did offer unto them ; but now, when they could not prevaile with the *Mayor* to command the *Recorder*, nor with the *Recorder* without the *Lord Majors* consent, to propose what the Faction pleased, by the Omnipotency of an order, from the House of *Commons*, they make the *dumb to speak*, what *Ven* and the rest will have them : or else the *Lord Mayor* and the *Recorder* must answer it at a Committee.

Lastly, whereas the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen* sit apart, from the *Commons*, and are *Covered*, when the others are *barheaded*, and have a *Negative Voice*, the itch of incorporating two in one, hath been as great in the *City*, as ever it was at *Westminster*, and with better success ; for the faction *here* (upon the point) have cast all into a common huddle, blending the *Court of Aldermen* with the *Commons* : *Upper*, and *Lower*, sound as harshly *here*, as *Westward* : And though in outward appearance, they remain two distinct Members, of one body, yet, in power, they have made both, *Levell*, Involving the Votes of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* in the major part of the *Commons*.

The *Puritan Faction*, by the assistance of the *House of Commons*, having thus gotten the power to call Common-councils, power to
continue

continue them, power to put to the *Question* what they please, and power to determine all by a *Major* part, my *Lord Mayor* having no more sway then *Perkins the Taylor*, *Rily the Bodes maker*, or *Nicholson the Chandler*; they may dispose of the Wealth and Power of the City as they please: now the two *Factions* openly communicate Counsills, walk hand in hand, that 'twas a question, which was the Parliament, that at *Westminster*, or this at *Guild-hall*.

Towards the end of *January* 1641. the *Commons* house Petition'd the King touching the *Tower*, the *Forts*, and the *Militia*, and as two strings set to the same tune, though on two severall *Viols*, at a convenient distance, if you touch one, the other by consent renders the same sound, so, the *House of Commons*, and the *Common-councell* of this City, were now grown to such a Sympathy, that the motions, and endeavours of one, were the work of both: that you would sweare, *Fowkes* was as much a Parliament man here, as *Ven* at *Westminster*: for before *February* was tenne dayes old, there was a *Common-councell* held, in which many things were debated: the Court was continued long, untill one of the Clock: at last, tired out with long sitting, and willing to rise, *Ven*, taking advantage of the present indisposition of the Court, to sit longer, ready to admit proposalls, without any strict scanning, (especially since whatsoever passed that *Common-councell*, was to undergoe a second consideration at the next, as their constant custome is) produceth an Order from the *House of Commons*, by which, they were desired to returne such mens names, with whom the City thought fit to intrust the *Militia* of London.

The Court, surprized with so unexpected a Message for the present, not piercing into the reason of it, nor understanding that the Houses were in so great forwardnesse to settle the *Militia*, as afterwards they found they were, nor imagining that the men, whose names they returned, should have absolute power to execute any thing of themselves, but only as a Committee to consult, and prepare, and report to the *Common-councell*, as the limited power of all Committees is, and, considering that the *Posture of Defence*, and the new *Militia*, though two names, were in effect but one and the same thing, Ordered that the names of the Committee

mission, for the *possession* of *defence*, should be sent to the House in returne to their order. The Intention of the House, (as some thinke) in this *Message*, (though for my part, if I were put to my oath I dare not sweare it) was, to indeare the City, and to lay an Obligation upon them by giving them power to nominate their owne men: But *Ven* (instructed by some, that had more wit, but as little honesty as himselse) his purpose in the carriage of this businesse was, to make the Lord *Major*, the *Sheriffes* and *Court of Aldermen*, by their owne voluntary, but Inconsiderate act, to renounce (as it were) their owne Interest, and so, to place this great power of the *Militia* on the *Committee* for the *possession* of *Defence*, whereof the *Major* part, if not all, were of his owne Faction.

Many dayes had not passed, before it was generally knowne, to the great Regret of all Loyall discrete men, That the *Militia* of *London*, was put in the hands of the *Committee* for the *possession* of *Defence*. Not long after, a common-Councell was called, at which, when the orders made the last meeting, (as the Custome is) were read, at this, many men seeing the Inate, into which unwittingly they had cast themselves, beganne to retract, and speake against that order, whereby the *Committee* for the *possession* of *Defence*, were invested with the power of the *Militia*: nay, some of the *Aldermen*, whose names were returned, for the new *Militia*, utterly protested against it: affirming, that when they passed that order, they had not the least Intention, to exclude the Lord *Major*, from having power over the *Militia*, nor had any thought, to place so absolute power in their *Committee*, as (they found) the two Houses had done: and hereupon, by some that stood well affected to the *honour*, and *peace* of the City, it was earnestly moved, that the Houses might be Petitioned to reverse their Order, but all in vaine: the Faction in the common-Councell being instructed by their Leaders, at what advantage they had the City, were resolved, not to Lose it, by giving way to such a Motion, but on the Contrary, to make all sure, *Ven* produceth another order from the House of Commons, That *Skippon*, whom the Committee for the *possession* of *Defence*, had associated to them for his advice, and assistance, should, by their Assent, be added to the same Committee for the *Militia*: which was no sooner

ner moved, & is assented unto, the Major part of the Common-
Council (who now rule the rest) will have it so.

The Court of Aldermen finding (but too late) that this
settlement of the *Mansion* would be no small derogation to the
Majesty in particular, and the Government of the City in gene-
rall; and being out of all hope to find the Commons ready to
joyne with them, in such a Petition, resolve (without them) to
Petition, that this Order of so dangerous Consequence might be
re-called; and the *Mayor* and *Sheriffe* be nominated of the Com-
mittee. To this end petitions are framed, and delivered, but to
no purpose; the Lord *Mayor's* Loyalty was too well knowne; to be
admitted; to have any share in that power which was intended to
be employed against the King.

Notwithstanding this Repulse, divers Citizens, very Consi-
derable for their numbers, but more considerable for their Quality
and abilities, out of a sense of that great Contempt and prejudice
which this would bring upon that ancient Government, con-
sider which their City had so long flourished; joyne in a petition
in their owne names, to the two Houses, to the same effect, but
with worse Success; for the House of Commons, having Infor-
mation what was in agitation in the City, send *Wm. Long* to
seize on the Petition, and the subscriptions; by which means, the
Names of the Subscribers being knowne, there wanted not arts
to make them retract their owne voluntary act: some by per-
suasions, and private solicitations, others intimidated by threats,
and Menaces, are Compell'd to recant; & because it was a Note
of Levity, if not worse, so suddenly to protest against their owne
voluntary Act, therefore the *Deceit* to bring on the Rest, so so-
bath, so unworthy a Revolt, was *Denbigh* the *Speakers* Brother,
which Example (he having broke the Ice) was followed by
many, that Loved an Iguoble quietnesse, before freedoms with
Trouble.

This last Petition was that which they call *Bennyons* petition;
and indeed Sir *George Bennyons* was (and he needs not be ashamed
of it) a Framer, and a chiefe promoter of that most reasonable,
most equitable Petition, which notwithstanding was made that
great Crime, that afterwards drew on his Impeachment, and hea-
vy Censure in Parliament. In which Sentence, the World may

See what grosse Injustice and partiality was used by them, that would be angry, not to be thought the most upright, and best *Justitians* in the world. The *Christmas* before (which was now must call *Nativity Tide*) the Lord Mayor, and the Recorder, were convened before a Committee for obstructing the Apprentizes petition, against Episcopacy; and learned *Peard* (who hath no more Law then what was made this Parliament) sitting in the Chayre, told them, that it was against the freedom and Liberty of the Subject, not to permit them (without any Let or Interruption) to present their grievances in paper to the Parliament. Nay for feare they should want worke, there was an order published in print by the House of Commons, to that very purpose; yet Sir *George* for making use of the same Liberty, which themselves had proclaimed, is sentenced thus: First, fined in three Thousand pounds. Secondly, disfranchized, utterly deprived of the privilege of the City. Thirdly, never to beare any Office in the Kingdom. Fourthly, to be committed prisoner to *Colchester* Gaole for two yeares, and lastly, at the expiration of that term to give security for the good behaviour, such, as the Parliament if they then sawe) should then thinke fitting, and in case the Parliament were dissolved, such as the Lord Keeper for the time being should approve of: how will this Sentence, for ever justify the severest, that were ever given, either in the *Star Chamber*, or *High Commission*. That did doome a man to ruine, for no other sawe, then what themselves had authorized, and judged it against the Liberty of the Subject, to oppose it, even by their owne Order.

The Committee for the posture of Defence, being by these dishonest practices made Lords of the Militia, and being armed with as much power as will, to serve the most desperate, Treasonable designs; which either *Say*, or *Pym* should suggest, they now goe on without checke or controule, and beate downe all before them that stand in their way. On Trivall pretences, or for necessary obedience to the Kings Just Commands, they remove honest Sir *Richard Gurney* (whose name in after Chronickes will outshine famous *Walworths*, and upbraid this Rebellious City to all posterity) from the Government of the City, and in his place substitute *Little Isaac*, rejecting the *Olive*, and ad-

vancing that *Bramble*, out of which I feare will come that *Fire*, which will consume this *sedition* City. Now the People are authorized by Ordinance of both Houses, and encouraged and pressed even in point of Conscience, by their Bouteveau Lecturers, to List horses in *Moorefields*, (and in money and plate to *Guild-Hall* for the service of the *King* and Parliament, and because they would be sure to have an *Orator* in every Pulpit to quicken the people, to poure out their wealth Liberally, to further the Rebellion intended, they cause the very dregs, and scum of every Parish, to petition against the Orthodox Clergy: who being imprisoned, or st: , they sequester their Livings, for the use of their owne Levites: so that at this day, there is not a true *Orthodox* Minister left, freely speaking his Conscience, and exercising his Ministry in the whole City: so that whatsoever they pretend, that they take up Armes for the defence of the Protestant Religion, if they meane the Protestant Religion, as it is by Act of Parliament established in the *Church of England*, I assure you, *Braber*, were you here, you could no more see a face of the Church of *England*, then you can at *Amsterdam*.

They have not onely banished all *Decency* and *Order*, together with the established *Liturgy*, out of our Churches, but in stead of the Gospel, our new Preachers entertaine their Auditories with newes, which upon examination prove but fictions and Lyes to blind the people, or else with bitter invectives against the King and his Government: and as for *Faith*, *Charity*, and *Repentance*, they are laid aside as impertinent arguments: all their exhortations now, are to *Treason* and *Rebellion*: So that, as in the *Holy League of France*, as my Author speaks, our pulpits are made the *Chaires of Juglers*. Nay, the very Sacraments escape not their Blasphemy and Prophanation to these vile purposes: I doubt not but you have heard of *M. Case* his Invitation of the Congregation to the Lords Table, who in stead of you that do truly and earnestly repent you of your finnes, and be in Love and Charity with your Neighbours, and intend to lead a new Life: &c. bespake them thus: *Yes that have freely and liberally Contributed to the Parliament, for the defence of Gods cause and the Gospel, draw nere*: To the rest he threatned Damnation, as com vng unworthily to the holy Sacrament: it were endlesse to write

unto you, (it deserves some mans labour in particular) to acquaint you, and the Kingdom; with the *Blasphemies*, *Prophaneities*, and *Aburdities*, which he and his Brethren in Evil, vent every day in their Extemporary Prayers and Sermons.

Yet were a'l this Treason set out mix'd with wit, or did they preach Rebellion aduantage'd by the alluring helpes of *art* and *Eloquence*, it might perswade some amongst us not to turne Recusants from their Assemblies: but they are the *dullest*, and the *dullest* beasts that ever peep'd over a *pulpit*: while these remaine in the City, *Rotheram* the *Lecturer*, never needs feare to be heard in his deprecation, that we might never see such a famine here in *London*, as was once in *Samaritan*, where an *Asses head was sold for foure score pieces of Silver*. Thanks to him and the rest, wee have great plenty here, and while we have so many, there is no feare that they will ever rise to so high a price.

But when people are disposed unto a Rebellion, small helpes will serue their Turne, a *Rams-Horn* is as good as *Shebabs Trumpet*: yet they have one art (and I may not forget it, because it takes much with the People) and it is this, you shall have one, and the same argument possesse most of our *Pulpit*, on the same day, the same matter, is the Subject, either of their rayling invectives, or Rebellious Exhortations. The undiscerning multitude, not piercing into this Imposture, kindly are perswaded, that this is no lesse then the *inspiration* of the *Holy Ghost*, when God knowes, this is no more, then an Intimation given from the Heads of the *Faction*, to *Calamy*, and the *Junto* that met at his house, from whom their *Emissaries* receive directions, what concerns the present opportunity, and is necessary to be preached unto the people.

By these and the like Arts, 'tis a wonder to see, what Forces have been raised, what summes have beene advanced, and poured out, to further this Rebellion; It is the Opinion of very wise men amongst us here, that have observed the severall helpes, which the City of *London* hath contributed to this present unnaturall Warre, that they have supplied the Treasury of the Rebels, with no lesse, then *Three Millions* of money, and their Army with *three score Thousand men*, first raising, then recrewing their mangled, beaten Regiments, at so great Expense both of

Treasure and Blood hath this proud wretchedfull City been, to dethrone the King, and raine the Kingdom.

And that they might not want supplies of men, to keepe this Rebellion on Foot, they have cancelled, or dispensed with all the Obligations and Tyes of Religion, Nature and Lawes; They have given the *Sonne* power not only without, but contrary to the parents commands to Lift himselfe, and take entertainment in their Army, the same liberty they have given to Apprentises and Servants, to take *Ames*, not only without, but contrary to the command of their Masters and Mistresses. How many poore Parents, how many poore Trades-men, nay, how many poor Widowes, and their distressed Orphans, before in this City, than had no other Subsistence but what was hardly earned by their *Children*, or Apprentises industry and labour, are now all like to starve, or are necessitated to fly to the *Almes* of the *Parish* (though the *poor*es stock is selfe be invaded and spent in this *Warre*) while those that fed them are left in this naturall Rebellion? Nay, how many disconsolate parents have you in the Country, that sent their Children hither to this City, and gave great summes with them, to bind them Apprentises to Trades, & Manufactures, hoping that hereafter they might live like men, nay, perhaps some of their Mothers out of an overweaning opinion, might fancy to themselves, hopes that they might live to see their *sonnes* Lord Majors of *London*, (and why not?) that now sit mourning, and wringing their hands, and curse the day not onely in which they sent them hither, but in which they were borne, not because they have lost a *Legge* or an *Arme*, or returned maimed, to that all they can hope for is to have entertainment in an Hospitall, and that no longer neither, then till the Kings maimed Souldiers shall come, and tell them that that Charity was never provided for men disabled fighting against their King, but because they have lost their *lives*, and not onely their *lives*, but their *previous* souls too, dying in a grievous sinne, in the very act of Rebellion? methinks you in the Country, (if there be any bowels of compassion yearning over the fruit of your bodies; if there be any *sense* of that eternall condition that doth attend them after this life, if there be any hope of the joyes of Heaven, or feare of the Torments of Hell) should be very sensible of this.

And

And though God hath manifestly fought against them, for the King, giving him victory in many Battails, when all humane helps, and advantages were on the the Rebels side, though God hath miraculously, and beyond the hope of man, restored unto Him; the hearts of the people, (which the heads of this Rebellion, by slanders had stolne from Him;) though from small, and contemptible beginnings in the eyes of His enemies (few or none standing for Him but God, and the justice of His Cause) God hath prospered Him into many mighty Armies, which render him formidable to the proudest, and stoutest of the Rebels; though every Victory hath beene seconded by a tender of peace, and with an overture of pacification, so that as himself speaks in that Declaration Published July 3. 1643. He could for probably fall under the Scandalous Imputation, which hath equally attended His Messages of peace, that they proceed from the weaknesse of His Power, not love of His People. Lastly, though, like an indulgent Father of Rebellious Children, He hath spared this City, and Widdiits by many pardons, many and often repeated Acts of Grace and Favour to recall us to our former Loyalty, (if e'er we were Loyall) yet, inconsiderate, unthankfull wretches as we are, we overtake, or straight all these invitations; for instead of repurchasing, we have added this, as the complement of our other Rebellions; that (whether more unthankfully or undutifully I cannot tell) we have cast dirt in our Sovereigns face, and slandered the footsteps of Gods Anointed, as if he were guilty of all these Miseries, which at this time threaten the subversion of this Nation; we will no longer wrong our King secretly, through the sides of His evil Counsellors, or Cavaliers, but charge him directly, and openly, as in that most tedious Declaration, or what ever you will call it, presented by Sir David Watkins, and that broken Citizen, our at elbowes, called Sauch Shute, to the Common Council, and by them to the remainder of the Lower House, if it be not breach of privilege to call it so.

How willing have we obeyed every Commandement, except God, and the Kings. How forward have we beene, to imploy the large Revenues of our severall Companies, and Brotherhoods, (as heretofore to excess, and gluttony, so now) to support this Rebellion; how ready, even beyond our Abilities, have we bin

to submit to every *Tax*, and *illegal Impostion*; even to the bondage, and slavery of *Exile*, by which we are not so much *Proprietaries* of our owne, as *Stewards*, or *Cashiers* to the heads of the Rebellion; and all this to no other end but to keepe up the Rebellion; wee have not only protected, & supported the Kings *Mortal Enemies*, but as much as in us lay, have persecuted all His *Friends*, or, if but suspected to stand well-affect'd to Him, and the Justice of his cause, not sparing the effusion of *Innocent blood*, as that of *M. Tomkins*, and *M. Chalmers*, which like the blood of *Abel*, calls loud to Heaven for vengeance; on this bloody City, and Questionlesse will in time be heard; For not Content to buy these mens bloods with great summes of monies which could not be advanced but on this Condition, that *M. Tomkins*, and *M. Chalmers*, be delivered up to their pleasure, and murder'd for a strange *Conspiracy* called *Obedience* to the King; but being dead, in an unheard of barbarousnesse they presse into the houses, where their dead bodies lay, before their Funeralls, and thinking they could never be sure enough, of so great a *guilt*; they will not beleve that they are dead, unless they force the houses to see the bodies of them whom themselves had murder'd; insomuch, that to avoyd further violence and rage of the Citizens, they were faine to set open the doores where their bodies lay, and expose them to the view of all, that so they might glut them'selves with beholding that sad spectacle which themselves had made.

That the Kings Gracious offers of Peace have beene slighted, and rejected, with scorn, and Contempt, and His Messengers that brought them, (contr. r. to the Law of Armes, and Nations) Imprisoned; *That* those miserable distractions, which have rent, and torne this flourishing Kingdome, are so farre from being closed, that they are rather made wider, *That* the sword of Warre, so long d'vouring, is not yet sheathed, except in one anothers bowells, *That* this Kingdome is still made, the Scene of Murthers, Rapines, Oppression, and Panderings, and whereon all the horrid acts of rage, and Injustice are every day acted, and the Nation put almost out of hope, ever to enjoy her former Peace, and plenty, is *our* fault and *ours* wholly: Had not the heads of this Rebellion beene animat'd by this City, and Incouraged by promises

promises of more supplies of men, and Monies. They had long before this layd downe their Armes, and come with halcers about their necks, and cast themselves at the Kings feet, submissly begging those Pardons, which they have presumptuously rejected: Time was, when the *two Houses* gave a Law to the *City*, now it is come to that passe, that the *City* prescribes to the *Reliques* of the two Houses; They must not Conclude of Warre or Peace, without consulting the *City*; if they doe, they reckon without their Hoste.

Nay, though *Faifax* be utterly routed in the North, and *William*, once surnamed *Conqueror*, be totally defeated in the West, yet they can neither be persuaded, nor beaten into thoughts of Peace: On the 20 *July* last, no longer agoe, many Thousande (as the printed Paper tells you) preferred a Petition to the House of Commons, presented by *M. Norbury* of the Curfitors office, and *Iohn Hay* an Attorney of *Guild-Hall*, both pernicious men: which as it evidently shewes their Obstinat aversion from Peace, so it is the most desperate divellish slander, that ever yet durst looke the World in the Face; for first they tell the House of Commons, and in them, the World, *That the King without any touch of Conscience, and in defiance of God, hath raised an Army of Papists, Out-laves, and Traitors, for the Robbing, Burning, Murthering, and destroying of His Reliquies, Honests, and well meaning People.* And then knowing not onely their Interest in, but their power over the House of Commons, they doe not so much *Penitenc*, as *Command* them to accept of their assistance, for the raising a new Army, and in expresse Termes prescribe unto them, and limit them to a *Committee* of their owne nomination, for the seizing and receiving of such Summes, as the willing shall thinke fit to offer, or they shall thinke fit to extort from the unwilling for this service: And that you may Judge of the whole Bunch, by some, they name *Pennington* the pretended Lord Major, *Strode*, one of the five Members, *Harry Martin* Blundermaster General, and *Dennis Bond* Burgesse of *Dorchester*, and *Patriarch Whares* owne disciple, a man of a double Capacity to be a Rebell and finding themselves more alone in these undertakings than they did imagine, like desperate Traitors, they call on the whole Kingdome, as one man according to the

inrent of the late Covenant, to joyn with them in this Rebellion. And having thus taken a course to raise new forces, on *Saturday* the 29 of *July*, at a *Common Hall*, they voted Sir *William Waller*, *General* of their new intended Army, whom to indeare the more; they interest him in the Governement of the City, hoping that being as mad as his Lady, he will hold up the Rebellion, as long as he can, and then be one of the last to runn away: I meane not from *Batell*, for in that hee shewed himselfe as forward as the foremost, but from *Iustice*, and the due reward of his disloyalty. By all which it is most evident, that this *Languishing Rebellion* had before this day gasp'd its last, and given up the Ghost, had not this *Rebellious City* by its *wealth*, and *Multitudes*, fomented it, and given it life.

If therefore Posterity shall aske, who broke downe the bounds, to those streames of blood, that have stained this earth; if they aske, who made Liberty captive, Truth criminall, Rapine just, Tyranny and Oppression Lawfull: who blanch'd Rebellion, with the specious pretence of defence of Lawes, and Liberties, Warre with the desire of an established Peace, Sacriledge and Prophanation, with the shew of Zeale, and Reformation: Lastly, if they aske who would have pulled the crown from the *Kings* head, taken the governement off the hinges, dissolved Monarchy, inflav'd the *Lawes*, and ruined their Countrey; say, I was the proud, *unthankfull*, *Schismaticall*, *Rebellious*, *Bloody City* of *London*, to that what they wanted of devouring this Kingdome by cheating and countenancing, they meane to finish by the Sword.

That therefore these dangerous *fluxions*, and continuall, not small *distillations*, but *floods* of Men, Money, Ammunition, and Armes descending from the *Head City*, and *Metropolis* of the Kingdome, may not for ever dissolve th: nerves, and *loosen* the Sinewes of this admirably compos'd Governement: it will highly concerne this Nation to looke about them, to undecelve themselves, and to consult their owne peace and safety, by joyning with their Gracious Sovereigne, in chastizing these rebellious Intolerances, & reducing this *Stubborne City* either to Obedience or *Ashe*.

Yet that the World may not thinke, that this inundation of wicke-Iesse wherein the *Direkt* of Rebellion rage in the *Chit*

children of disobedience, hath involved all of us in the same disloyalty, let not (*good Brother*) the name *Rusticus* neither deterre you, (as if it were a *Solecisme*, to tell the *Murders*, *Robberies*, *Plunderings*, and other *Onrages*, committed in the *City*, nor deprive us (a handfull of faithfull Subjects in comparison of the Rebels, the *Paritians*, *Brownists*, and *Anabaptists*) of so great an Opportunity, to justify our *Innocence*. Let the *Country* know, that we have been at the charges, to undoe, not onely them, but our selves too, the *Collosse* which we have built, is fallen on the *builders*, the *Fire* which we have kindled, devoures the *bellows*; which first *blow'd* it up; some of us repent of our fond *credulity* to be deceived, and fooled by the empty name of a *Parliament*, God grant it be not too late; yet how ever, let *Posterity* know this too, that the *King* hath his *Marijns* in *London*, all are not in the *Country*; And to make this good, secretly (as much as the close obstructions of the wayes of conveyance will permit) you shall not faile of Intelligence from

London, Aug. 5.

1643.

Your affectionate Brother

MERCURIUS CIVICUS.
